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GERMAN

Danièle Bujard: Die Genfer Konvention von 1864 und die Brüsseler Konferenz von 1874 — Regierungsexpertenkonferenz über den Einsatz gewisser herkömmlicher Waffen.

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RED CROSS UNITY IN THE WORLD

by Walter Bargatzky

The President of the German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany addressed the assembly of the Lower Saxony chapter of that Society, held at Goslar on 22 June 1974. He has kindly sent us a copy of his address, which is partly published below for information. The views expressed are solely those of the author. (Ed.).

When we consider the cohesion and spiritual unity of the 121 recognized Red Cross (Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun) Societies whose activities extend practically throughout the world, we can still affirm that the international unity of the Red Cross is a reality. Yet is it, in fact, as strong and unshakable as the national solidarity and feeling of national unity with which most Red Cross Societies are imbued? Or are there dangers—recent ones maybe—that threaten the international solidarity of the Red Cross? I must admit that I see such dangers ahead. I have therefore decided to bring them into the open. It is only by discussing them in straightforward fashion that we can hope to dispel those dangers.

I shall base myself on the principles of the Red Cross as defined at the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross in Vienna in 1965, those well-known principles of *humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality*. But the meaning which is here lent to «unity» is quite different from the one to which I refer, namely the principle that there can be only one Red Cross Society in one and the same country. There is no mention anywhere in

the Red Cross principles of the fact that, transcending the multiplicity of National Societies, members of the International Red Cross should regard themselves as a coherent whole. And a literal interpretation of the wording of those principles might encourage the belief that the existence of certain blocs was also consistent with the essence of the great international Red Cross community. While the wording of those principles does not seem to conflict with the formation of such blocs, their spirit does.

The statement embodied in those principles — and particularly in the principle of universality—that the Red Cross is a universal institution in which all Societies enjoy the same rights and must help one another, implies that these Societies must, for the specific purpose of mutual aid, also maintain inner solidarity, a community of ideas and organization virtually equivalent to unity of thought and action, and which forbids the formation of conflicting blocs. As far back as 1956, Mr. Jean Pictet, now Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, in a study entitled *Red Cross Principles*, showed that the concept of universality necessarily implied some degree of uniformity and that the Red Cross, though unable to constitute material unity, had nevertheless achieved such unity in regard to its ideal.

And it is precisely when I consider unity of ideal rather than uniformity that I must admit that some recent events fill me with disquiet. Obviously, in a community of 121 Red Cross Societies there will always be differing views. This is something which not one of the International Conferences of the Red Cross has been spared. Nor is it surprising that there should sometimes be deep conflicts, disputes that go to the very foundations of that unity of ideal, particularly in warfare, and recent Red Cross history has given us enough examples of this. So far, however, it has always been possible, if not immediately at least over the years, to settle such conflicts and achieve a common platform and a procedure approved by all. The Red Cross is, after all, a community of human beings, not saints. Like all communities, its existence is attended by frank and sometimes harsh discussion as well as by a readiness to compromise.

Recently, however, some differences seem to have arisen which cannot be settled by discussion or resolution, or by a compromise on this or that matter, but only by everyone concerned studying the historic contribution made by the Red Cross and its basic ethical fabric, and

considering the unwritten principle of unity of ideal, since it is nothing less than the continuance of this unity which is at stake. The disturbing extent of differing opinions would seem to call for quick and intelligent action, not by Red Cross leaders alone but also by governments, if the Red Cross family is not to split into different camps, not to say blocs. Here are a few examples from the past few years:

1. The Vietnam war prompted worldwide Red Cross assistance. The belligerent parties and their Red Cross Societies received a large amount of relief, not only from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies, but direct from a great many National Societies, who often provided personnel—as in the case of our hospital ship “*Helgoland*”. Yet up to the very end some of the belligerents prevented the ICRC from sending its delegates to the theatre of operations and, as the custodian of the Geneva Conventions, exercising its traditional role for the benefit of war victims, even though the Geneva Conventions expressly lay down that the ICRC is authorized to offer its humanitarian services in a war regarded by one or more of the belligerents as civil war, just as in an international conflict.

2. The same situation arose in the civil war in Nigeria. The services which the ICRC offered both parties were at first accepted, and for a long time Red Cross aid was rendered on either side of the front. One day, however, one of the parties to the conflict forbade the ICRC to continue its assistance to the population under the control of the other side, and called upon it to cease its relief activities. Only a few individual Red Cross Societies were still able to render aid to that section of the population.

There can be no doubt whatever that the obstacles encountered by the ICRC in Vietnam and Nigeria—which amounted to its being excluded from part of the theatre of operations—considerably diminished its authority and started many people in different parts of the world wondering whether the great work begun at Solferino could continue if belligerents felt they could prevent the International Committee from carrying out its humanitarian tasks.

3. During the 1971 war between Pakistan and India, some 100,000 prisoners of war fell into the hands of one of the belligerent parties.

Despite the efforts made by the ICRC and the fact that hostilities had already ceased, the repatriation of those prisoners, contrary to the provisions of the Third Geneva Convention, was made contingent on political conditions, particularly that the opponent should recognize the independence of part of its former territory. The exchange of prisoners of war took place only when the governments of the States parties to the conflict finally agreed on this and other political demands. The moral authority of the International Committee of the Red Cross was thus further impaired, and its humanitarian mission limited.

4. Recently, the same thing happened in the Middle East war. When the guns were silent, the ICRC reminded the belligerents that under the Geneva Conventions the opponent must be unconditionally supplied with lists of prisoners of war, and that those prisoners must be exchanged as early as possible. Here, too, the appeal came up against political demands on which that humanitarian duty was made contingent, e.g. respect for given ceasefire lines or the establishment of some buffer zone. It was precisely in the Middle East conflict, again at the cost of Red Cross prestige, that world opinion learnt that humanitarian matters could no longer be solved by the Geneva institution but, if at all, by political bodies, namely the governments of the Big Powers.

I think these four examples, however much they may differ, allow of only one conclusion, which is to be deeply regretted: that political considerations prompted the governments concerned and their National Societies to reject ICRC aid or not to accede to its wish to see the Conventions applied. Not that I presume to judge whether or not those political considerations were justified. But the undeniable result has been that, in the eyes of the world, the traditional strength of the Red Cross has been considerably reduced, and that encouragement has been given to those who, in government and elsewhere, propose to evade action by the International Committee as custodian in future cases.

Politics come before humanity. Unfortunately there is no other way of describing the situation. It is easy enough to add further examples to those I have mentioned. I am thinking of the negotiations between two Asian Red Cross Societies on the reuniting of millions of families separated by war, negotiations which have been conducted solely on the basis of international resolutions of the Red Cross and which are again jeopardized by accessory political conditions. Nor should one

overlook the wretched quarrel about racism which developed at the last International Conference of the Red Cross and roused so much passion. In view of the heavy responsibility that we ourselves bear for racial persecution, there can be no doubt that we Germans must fight racism with every possible means. In my opinion, the cause of unity in the International Red Cross is not served by wrangling at public gatherings or voting resolutions which amount to outlawing some Red Cross Society. The outcome is that the Society must either bear the stigma of condemnation or take the initiative of leaving the international Red Cross family. Humanity, unlike mere ideology, can be defended only by practical action. In respect of racism, too, the cause of Red Cross unity in the world would be better served by refraining from specious resolutions and sweeping denunciations of specific countries or Red Cross Societies, and by endeavouring, by private and if need be harsh discussion, to find ways and means of rendering not merely moral but practical aid to those suffering under racial discrimination.

Please do not misunderstand me. Even if these examples — and I shall give no more—show that political considerations have appreciably affected the cohesion of the Red Cross, its unity of ideal, the effectiveness of its international institutions, particularly the ICRC, I am far from asserting that these events alone imply that the Red Cross has become political. In the course of its history, which dates back more than a century, the International Red Cross has through steadfastness and skill constantly eluded the danger of being caught in the undertow of political dispute. Far be it from me, too, to speak of the formation of political blocs, of fronts which in the long run would split the international community of the Red Cross and paralyse its activities for an incalculable length of time.

My apprehension is borne out rather than allayed by a situation which arose recently and which would indicate that political influences are trying to sap Red Cross unity, in a sphere which is fundamental to the Red Cross, namely that of the Geneva Conventions. I am referring to the Diplomatic Conference held early this year to confer regarding two Protocols drafted by the ICRC, additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions. The Conference is one of the most outstanding events of our time in the field of international law, and the decision to convene it was taken at the International Conference of the Red Cross in Istanbul, in 1969. It will pursue its discussions at a second session next year and,

if need be, a third session in 1976, which I trust will achieve the final objective. Its purpose—the two draft Protocols submitted by the ICRC—is in fact to provide two entirely new Geneva Conventions designed to afford the civilian population better protection in international and civil war. The history of the International Committee will always be marked by the fact that, regardless of differing political views and the extraordinarily explosive nature of the subject, it endeavoured to produce a new Magna Charta on human rights, in an age of total and ever more barbarous warfare.

What, then, happened at the Diplomatic Conference which gave me cause for additional disquiet?

- (a) Protocol I deals with protection in case of an international war, Protocol II in case of civil war. In their concern about sovereignty, many States have long opposed any rules governing civil war. However, the draft is at last complete. It is composed of more than forty articles, which should alter the present legal situation. They would constitute an enormous step forward in the sphere of humanitarian aid, even if protection in civil war—which comprises the protection of rebels—can never be so far-reaching as protection in international war, precisely because governments are worried about their sovereignty.

In one of the committees of the Diplomatic Conference, a majority of the governments affirmed that “armed conflict against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes” should be regarded as international conflict, and that those engaged in such fighting should have the same privileges as soldiers in an international war. This would mean that the idea of a special Protocol applying to civil wars would virtually have to be abandoned, and that in the case of armed conflicts occurring within a country and which cannot be regarded from the standpoint of internationalization, the old illegal situation would persist. Thus extensive Red Cross help in the event of civil war, help which seemed at last capable of attainment, would again be made impossible, and indefinitely.

- (b) Worse was to be feared. If, among civil wars, certain types are selected for special privileges, it is not only the wars that are placed in different categories, but the victims too. In fact, each motion was based on the argument that there are wars called “just” and others

called “unjust”; from this it was claimed that the Geneva Conventions should apply solely in favour of parties waging a “just” war. To the others—and therefore also to the populations they controlled—the protection of the Geneva Conventions should be refused, a radical reversal of the elementary Red Cross principle that no questions should be asked as to the motives of a war, but that suffering should be relieved wherever it occurs.

If these proposals were to obtain a majority at the second session of the Diplomatic Conference next year, the Red Cross would have to face an entirely new and momentous situation: in future, before undertaking any relief action in war, it would be obliged to find out whether, in the opinion of the belligerents, the war was a just one or not. Since the belligerents would be unlikely to agree on the subject, the International Red Cross would run the risk — even more frequently than in the past — of seeing its humanitarian aid in a specific territory, regarded by the adversary as the theatre of an unjust war, considered illegal and possibly prevented by force. This would be likely in civil wars and, as experience has shown since the end of the Second World War, in the overwhelming majority of modern wars. In other words, the humanitarian aid of the International Red Cross would be tied to a previous decision of a political nature, on the just or unjust character of a war. And this previous decision would mean no less than a choice, according to purely political criteria, among the victims of a war, whether they belonged to the armed forces or to the civilian population, before giving them help.

Needless to say, this requirement would be contrary to the Red Cross principle of impartiality, the basic ethical concept of Dunant at Solferino. In 1949, with memories of the Second World War and its hideous inhumanity still fresh in people’s minds, it would have been unthinkable that discussions on the four Geneva Conventions could give rise to ideas such as those expressed in the Diplomatic Conference. But since then, it seems, times have changed, and there is every reason to fear that the noble projects of the ICRC will be eroded by this and similar demands and distorted by the majority of governments, so that this will mean a step backward in relation to the Geneva Conventions, not a reform but a regression.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that the Diplomatic Conference, which is to meet again next year, is a conference of governments and not

of the Red Cross. It is therefore not surprising that it produces proposals and opinions that we have come to know from the deliberations of the United Nations, and that have led to the sad situation where, in cases of armed conflict (whether international wars or civil wars), attempts to make peace are repeatedly paralysed by the formation of political blocs. Supposing that the ICRC — through the resolutions of the Diplomatic Conference, i.e. by the decision of the majority of governments — were placed under the necessity of making its future relief activities in civil wars or in international conflicts dependent on political criteria, on a previous selection, contrary to Red Cross principles, of those to be helped? Supposing such a decision by the majority of governments at the Diplomatic Conference were to be supported in some countries, not only by the government but also — and there were signs of this at the last Red Cross Conference in Teheran — by the National Red Cross Society, would there not be a danger that the International Red Cross might be confronted by political influences not only from outside but from inside, from within the Red Cross family itself?

But enough of these pessimistic speculations. For the moment, there have been no more than isolated incidents, votes on one subject or another and, though they require our greatest vigilance, they have fortunately not yet led to a total change, not even to the preliminary steps towards such a change. Yet I believe that the time has come for the Red Cross, not only the international organizations in Geneva, but every National Society in the world, to think hard about the way to counter the growing danger that the Red Cross will be made into a political instrument and thus lose the unity of its idealist aims. The Red Cross is not so totally lacking in effective moral weapons that it cannot sustain and win such a combat. But certain things must be done to remind us that these weapons exist; I have in mind the following.

First of all, the National Societies should remember, more than they did during the International Conference of the Red Cross in Teheran, their obligation to be politically independent. This independence is one of the basic principles of the Red Cross. When a Society is required to co-operate with the government and the authorities of its country, it must endeavour to retain its independence. It can, if necessary, place the principles of the Red Cross above the political demands and political programme of the country.

In practice, this means, to mention one example, that a Red Cross Society must advocate the immediate exchange of lists of prisoners of war, even if the government of the country is unwilling, for political motives, to agree to such an exchange. It is always to the credit of a Red Cross Society if it votes differently from the representatives of its government when it believes that otherwise it would be failing in its humanitarian duty.

Then, in international practice, each Red Cross Society must be governed by the thought that it must never, in any circumstances, jeopardize the cohesion, the shared ideal, of the universal Red Cross family; indeed, it has a duty to defend this unity, when required, by all available means, above all by being ready to make compromises with other National Societies, even with the Society of a country politically hostile to its own. The universality of the Red Cross, the principle by which it is a worldwide institution in which all the Societies must help each other, expressly forbids the formation of any kind of political bloc within the International Red Cross, which is also forbidden by the principle of neutrality. We should not flinch from any effort, any personal attack on us, in protecting the Red Cross against penetration by political notions — for example, that of just and unjust wars — into its actions or into the practical application of the Geneva Conventions. Such notions may be put forward in a political association such as the United Nations, but have no place whatever in a politically neutral humanitarian organization. Any National Society that infringes this rule of the worldwide unity of principle of the Red Cross should in future stand in danger of losing its status as the National Society of its country.

Moreover, the National Societies should take care that certain majority groups, such as have developed in Red Cross Conferences over the past few decades, do not tend to become consolidated and lead to the formation of fixed majorities and minorities. It is a source of sure pleasure that in the second half of this century, since the signing of the Geneva Conventions in 1949, so many National Societies have been created and have joined the worldwide Red Cross family.

I am thinking especially of the new Societies of the Third World which only recently won their independence. Yet the addition of these new Societies has brought about a shift in the weight distribution in the Red Cross. In the International Red Cross, every National Society,

small or large, long-established or newly formed, has the same voting rights — there could be no other system. However, these new Societies from the Third World now have the greatest weight of numbers, and this has meant that when votes have been taken the old Societies have been more and more often outvoted. This is of course not a disaster, as long as the voting is according to Red Cross principles and free of political considerations. But not if the representatives of the Third World countries were to allow themselves to be driven by feelings derived from memories of colonial times or thoughts of the economic disadvantages of their countries in comparison with industrialized lands. In such a case, it could happen that in fact, over a long period of time, fixed positions would build up and Red Cross Societies would suffer the temptation to transfer negative impressions from their political past into the debates and resolutions regarding humanitarian matters. And this despite the fact that, in more than a century of Red Cross history, the industrialized nations of today, who were often the founders or pioneers of the Red Cross, were never guilty of colonial abuses when it was a question for the Red Cross to provide assistance to the populations of the regions now independent.

Therefore I appeal urgently to these young Red Cross Societies not to let themselves be motivated by resentment about the past but to approach the old Red Cross Societies, outnumbered as they are, without prejudice, and not to be afraid to vote *with* these Societies if Red Cross principles require it. If, with the development of the Third World, blocs came to be formed of what benefit would that be? The first and second generation of Red Cross Societies, even though today they are in a minority for voting, are still the only ones with sufficient means available to provide large-scale help in emergencies, whether in war or peace, precisely to the new Red Cross Societies in the Third World. Would it not be a disaster for all parties, but mainly for the International Red Cross as a whole, if those Societies lost their interest in the international bodies of the Red Cross, in particular in the League of Red Cross Societies, and restricted themselves to occasional bilateral aid with a few other Societies?

Finally, the Red Cross, if it is to retain its unity of ideals and withstand the threat of becoming a political organization, should give far more attention to its obligation of neutrality. After developments in the last few years, it cannot be denied that the influence of the International

Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, composed exclusively of Swiss citizens, has diminished in the field historically its own, work in time of war, and that it is here increasingly threatened by groupings of National Societies. Such groups, however good their intentions to remain politically neutral, are more easily drawn into the wake of international or even national politics than is a wholly Swiss organization, one that is directed exclusively by citizens of a neutral State under international law. It is true that Switzerland itself has not escaped occasional accusations of political partisanship. However, thanks to its centuries of political neutrality, it remains, as before, the safest ground for a humanitarian organization which hopes to keep unharmed its freedom from party affiliations and its neutrality in our politically divided world. I am therefore convinced that we should appeal vigorously to National Societies to give their strongest support to the International Committee of the Red Cross as their very honourable and thoroughly experienced leading body, not only in its relief activities in time of war but in its efforts to develop the Geneva Conventions, and also in its attempts to rescue the non-partisan spirit of the two draft Additional Protocols at the next session of the Diplomatic Conference.

It would be a significant step in this direction if the Diplomatic Conference could see its way to improving the role of the ICRC as a Protecting Power. This was provided for in the first draft Additional Protocol in case it were not possible to appoint other Protecting Powers. And if in fact the plan for a special Additional Protocol to apply to civil wars were rejected, one should consider whether the ICRC could at least act as Protecting Power in civil wars not in the nature of international conflicts, in order to safeguard human rights and to carry out non-partisan relief operations, obviously without this in any way implying legal recognition of insurgent groups. Such reinforcement of the legal status of the International Committee of the Red Cross would serve to remind the public that this organization has always been the unparalleled example of neutral and effective aid in case of war.

To conclude: if we are able in this way to save the cohesion and the unity of the Red Cross throughout the world from being broken up by political considerations — and I do not doubt for an instant that we will succeed — the consequence will be that the Red Cross will henceforth be able to help *all* victims, not merely all victims of natural dis-

asters but all victims of war, whether, in the eyes of one party or the other, or of one country or another, it is a “ just ” war or not. For that is the lesson of the long history of the Red Cross: that because of its unity and its universality it has found its way into all political spheres, to all military fronts. So I believe that the only clear and irrevocable criterion for the future of the Red Cross must be:

Help for all means a universal Red Cross.

A universal Red Cross means a united Red Cross.

Walter BARGATZKY

President of the German Red Cross
in the Federal Republic of Germany

THE GENEVA CONVENTION OF 1864 AND THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE OF 1874

by Danièle Bujard

The year 1974 marks the centennial of the International Declaration of Brussels on the Laws and Customs of War. This effort to codify the most important laws of war, undertaken on the initiative of Czar Alexander II of Russia, constituted a decisive stage in the development of the law of war. It is this event which the Committee for the Protection of Human Life in Armed Conflicts, under the patronage of the Belgian Government, proposes to commemorate by an international seminar on the theme "The Concept of International Armed Conflict—New Perspectives", in December of this year.

It seemed to be interesting therefore to recall what the effects the Russian initiative had on the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field. We are pleased therefore to publish the following article, and to recall that in 1874, 1875 and 1876 our publication also published articles on the same subject. (The Editor).

I

Proposal by Czar Alexander II

In a dispatch dated 6 April 1874, the Chancellor of the Russian Empire, Prince Gortchakov, instructed the Russian chargé d'affaires in Berne, Glinka, to inform the Swiss Government of the intention of the Imperial Government "to present to all countries a draft proposal for an international agreement designed to establish the laws and customs of war".

A few days later, Glinka received the text of the proposal, under the title "Introductory Draft of an International Convention Concerning the Laws and Customs of War".¹ The document was accompanied by a letter in which Chancellor Gortchakov set forth at length the motives which had inspired his government:

"The thought which inspired it (the proposal) is a humanitarian thought, which we are convinced is the reflection of a universal feeling, a universal interest and a universal need. Along with the growing solidarity which in our time tends to bring the nations together as members of a single family, and along with the growing tendency of their military organizations to give to their conflicts the character of struggles between nations in arms, the more necessary it becomes to determine, with greater precision than in the past, the laws and customs which are permissible in wartime, so as to limit the consequences and reduce the distress caused by war, so far as this is possible and desirable. To achieve this purpose, it appears to be necessary to reach a common agreement upon rules which may be made obligatory for governments and their armies, on the basis of complete reciprocity. We believe that it is the duty of all states and that it also serves their interests to achieve this..."

Chancellor Gortchakov proposed that a plenipotentiary conference be convoked to discuss such matters and said that the Imperial Government believed the city of Brussels would be a particularly appropriate site, in view of the neutrality of Belgium.

In the opinion of Czar Alexander II, who was thus continuing the task begun at Saint Petersburg in 1868, war was a necessary evil, an evil aggravated by the development of techniques and armaments. Moved as he was by humanitarian feeling, and also by the desire to protect the common interests of nations which were becoming more and more interdependent, he hoped to attenuate the effects and cruelties of warfare.

The proposal submitted by Glinka to the President of the Swiss Confederation on 25 April 1874 was an audacious one, which tended, as shown by its title, to codify and clarify, in 71 articles, a major part of the structure of common law applicable in wartime.

¹ Our translation from the original French. The same applies to all the other quotations.

A démarche similar to that presented to the President of the Swiss Confederation was soon dispatched to every European capital and to Washington. "This news, confirmed on the 1st of May by a formal invitation to the various states by the Imperial Russian Government, created a sensation."¹ Indeed, the news produced genuine astonishment in a Europe which had barely emerged from the murderous war of 1870-71 and which was still profoundly divided by political passions, grievances and resentment. Some people regarded the Russian initiative as a salutary means for reducing tensions. By bringing together in Brussels a reconciled Europe to study humanitarian problems, it might be possible to avoid a war of revenge, which many people already regarded as inevitable.

As one expression of this hope, J. Huber-Saladin, a member of the Committee of the French Aid Society for Care of the Wounded, wrote on 25 June 1874 to Gustave Moynier, President of the International Committee for Aid to Wounded Soldiers: "Prince Gortchakov has taken a timely initiative to halt the consequences of such national hatreds by a public European activity. An inevitable result of the Brussels Congress will be to provide a fairly exact measure of the level of civilization of which Europe can boast and to give credit to Russia for the enlightenment which is now to be freely and honestly disseminated".

Farther on, Huber-Saladin's hope was tinged with some scepticism: "We must not forget, however, that the present time, in political, religious, industrial, philanthropic and military terms, may well be a time for surprises. Change is in the air, with threats from below, anarchy in the middle and moral and political disorder more or less everywhere. Russia needs peace and the opportunity to strengthen herself institutionally. Her proposal is so far-reaching and so unexpected that I believe surprise is still the predominant factor".

Huber-Saladin had judged the situation accurately. In 1874, Russia was in particular need of a stable peace in Europe in order to deal with serious internal disturbances. In his memoirs, Prince Peter Kropotkin confirmed this:

"The countless arrests carried out during the summer of 1874 and the unrelenting pursuit of our group by the police produced a profound change in the attitudes of Russian youth. Up to that time, the main

¹ P. Boissier, *Histoire du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, de Solferino à Tsoushima*, Paris 1963, p. 382.

objective had been to choose from among the workers and ultimately among the peasants a certain number of men who would be trained as socialist agitators. But the factories had now been invaded by hordes of spies and it was clear that propagandists and suspect workers would soon be arrested and deported to Siberia for the rest of their lives. The movement 'towards the people' therefore took another turn. Hundreds of young people and women, scorning all the precautions that had been taken up to that time, went out into the countryside and visited towns and villages, stirring the masses to revolt and openly circulating pamphlets, songs and manifestos. In our group, this season gained the name 'the summer of madness'.¹

Running counter to the hopes of those who saw in the Russian proposal an opportunity for European reconciliation and the strengthening of a still fragile peace were the fears and anxieties which the suggestion was certain to arouse in various chancelleries. The task to be achieved seemed to be a great one, and the smaller states feared that it would be carried out at their expense, by limiting their means of defence, to the benefit of the major powers. It was therefore not always with unqualified enthusiasm that some governments agreed to send delegations to Brussels. Returning from a visit to that capital, where he made numerous contacts and had many discussions, Huber-Saladin told Gustave Moynier in a letter on 6 July, "I have been able to gather some information, subsequently confirmed, about the meeting and the attitudes of various powers... Complete abstention on the part of the United States; British adhesion, but with reservations concerning the navy, sea warfare, discussions of international law, new agreements, etc. Austria and Italy are accepting the discussion without enthusiasm. France is going along, without putting up any resistance..."

In Berne, the communication presented by Ambassador Glinka was taken very seriously. First of all, it produced a reaction of dissatisfaction and surprise. Why, it was asked, had not the Imperial Government announced its intentions earlier to the Federal Council, as the government of the depositary state for the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field, and the additional articles annexed to that convention

¹ Peter Kropotkin, *Autour d'une Vie*, Lausanne. La Guilde du Livre, p. 314.

on October 20, 1868? A first reading of the Russian proposal showed that it did indeed contain a chapter concerning non-combatants and wounded persons, the seven provisions of which touched directly upon the 1864 Convention, but it contained no mention whatsoever of the additional articles of 1868, which the authors of the proposal seemed to disregard completely.

Before taking any further steps, Monsieur Schenck, President of the Confederation and chief of the Federal Political Department, decided to consult the International Committee for Relief to Wounded Soldiers. As there was no time to lose, he wrote on 28 April 1874 to Gustave Moynier, President of the International Committee:

“As I should like to have a discussion with you concerning the Geneva Convention, would you please tell me if you could come to Berne on Saturday, 2 May...”

Moynier came to Berne, and during the ensuing discussion it was decided to seek more information about the real intentions of the Russian Government. Moynier undertook to study the Russian proposals concerning non-combatants and the wounded, and the possible effects these might have on existing law, and to report the result of his examination to the Political Department.

The Geneva Convention of 1864

Before joining Moynier in Geneva, however, let us pause briefly to consider what was the status, at the time of the convocation to the Brussels Conference, of positive law governing the treatment of wounded soldiers.

The Convention of 1864, the first international legal instrument to regulate certain aspects of land warfare, had set forth the principle that wounded and sick combatants had to be respected and cared for without distinction of nationality (Article 6). From this principle, all the other provisions of the Convention flowed naturally—so that the protected soldiers could be collected and cared for, the medical personnel should be in a position to carry out its mission and have the necessary material at its disposal. It was in like manner that the principle of neutrality was extended to ambulances and military hospitals (Article 1) and to ambulance and hospital personnel (Article 2). This extension of pro-

tection was limited in time, however, and medical personnel enjoyed the protection of neutrality only when they were exercising their function and only as long as there were wounded to gather and care for; medical installations were protected only to the extent that they were used to shelter the wounded and the sick. Finally, only personnel belonging to the military medical services were affected, since the Convention did not grant the benefits of neutrality to voluntary medical personnel. On the other hand, quite strangely, it conceded such neutrality very generously to one poorly defined category—inhabitants of a country at war who gave assistance or shelter to wounded soldiers (Article 5). Such inhabitants were not only exempted from the billeting of troops but also from a portion of the war contributions to which they would otherwise be liable.

Since neutrality required the adoption of a distinctive and identical sign for the persons and material objects benefiting from this privilege, the Convention stipulated that the sign would consist of the red cross on a white background which the Aid Societies had adopted for their own use in 1863.

The Convention of 1864 had been supplemented by another instrument signed in Geneva on 20 October 1868, whose stated purpose was “to extend to naval forces the benefits of the Convention concluded at Geneva on 22 August 1864 for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in armed forces in the field and to make more explicit some of the provisions of that convention”. We shall consider here only the provisions of that instrument, known under the name of the additional articles of 1868, which supplement the 1864 Convention with regard to land warfare (Articles 1 to 5).

Under the terms of Article 3 of the 1864 Convention, medical personnel were free to decide, in the event of occupation, whether to continue to discharge their function or to withdraw to their own lines. By 1868, this provision seemed excessive. Although one might agree that medical personnel should not be kept in captivity, it appeared to be demanding a great deal of the belligerents to permit them to depart at will. Henceforth, the commander of the occupying forces would, within certain limits, determine the time for such withdrawal (Article 1).

As we noted earlier, the Convention of 1864 was very liberal with regard to a population giving assistance to the wounded. In 1868, the intention was to impose a restrictive interpretation upon this provision, but this restriction in fact dealt only with the exemption from the billet-

ing of troops and the making of war contributions. These exemptions were to be considered in proportion to the "equitable manner" in which the inhabitants exercised their "charitable zeal" (Article 4). The idea of "charitable zeal" is indeed a vague one. As for the material conditions which the inhabitants would have to fulfil if their homes were to be regarded as medical institutions enjoying the benefits of neutrality, these were not clarified by the text of 1868 any more than they were by the Convention of 1864. This left the door open to abuses which were unfortunately to become apparent during the Franco-German War.

The Convention of 1864 had imposed the duty on belligerents of returning to their country wounded soldiers who, after being healed, were recognized as unfit for military service. It also provided for the possibility of returning wounded men who were acknowledged to be fit for service, on the condition that they would not take up arms again for the duration of the war. The changes proposed in 1868 were to be even more generous. By eliminating all distinction between these two categories of wounded, it would be the duty of the parties to a conflict to send all of the wounded back to their respective countries, regardless of the extent of their invalidity after their wounds were healed.

At the time of the convocation of the Brussels Conference, the additional articles proposed in 1868 were not in force. The Swiss Federal Council, in its capacity as the depositary government, had made numerous attempts to obtain their ratification. These articles had in fact been put into effect during the war of 1870-71 by both belligerents, who had declared their intention of respecting them. Even in 1874, however, there were still doubts about some of the articles proposed in 1868. In a letter to the President of the Confederation on 10 June 1874, Gustave Moynier recognized this fact, commenting: "I think it would be a good idea to renounce the proposed Article 5 of 1868, as it is the only one preventing agreement between the powers on the additional articles concerning land warfare. This laboriously begotten article is only a useless and impracticable compromise between the philanthropic aspirations of some of the parties and the prudence of others".

The Russian proposal and the law of Geneva

Briefly summarized, this was the status of the law of Geneva when Gustave Moynier returned from Berne with surprising news for the mem-

bers of the International Committee, carrying in his pocket the text of a proposed Convention which was beginning to disturb him. In Geneva, reactions were quite clear.

"This matter of the Brussels Congress is a cause of great concern to me and to my colleagues as well," Moynier wrote to von Holleben, President of the Central Committee of the German Society for Relief to Wounded and Sick Soldiers, who had already sent him a copy of the Russian proposal. "We have good reason to hope, however, that the original text of the Geneva Convention will emerge intact from this new trial."

Were the fears of the International Committee concerning the future of the Convention of 1864 justified? Was the existence of that Convention really threatened by the Russian proposal?

Let us consider this more closely in the light of the study of the Russian proposal and its relation to the Geneva Convention which Moynier sent to the Federal Political Department on 10 June, pursuant to the request made by President Schenk during their discussion on 2 May.

One thing should be recognized at the outset: it was not the purpose of the Russian proposals to take the place of the Geneva Convention or even to revise it fundamentally, since the articles referring to non-combatants and the wounded were regarded as additional articles for the Convention, the original text of which was to remain unchanged. This was set forth clearly in Article 39 of the proposal: "The sick and wounded who fall into the hands of the enemy shall be treated in conformity with the Geneva Convention and with the following additional articles..." This was also Moynier's opinion: "It is clear from Article 39 of the Russian project, which refers to the Geneva Convention, that the Saint Petersburg Government does not intend to propose any change in the original text of this treaty, which, in its opinion, should continue to exist in the form in which it was adopted in 1864".

For the first time, however, regulations concerning wounded soldiers and military medical services were to constitute no more than one chapter in a much more comprehensive code covering the most important laws of war. Without proposing to minimize the importance of Chapter VII dealing with the protection of non-combatants and the wounded, one might nevertheless note that this did not constitute the keystone of the entire project, which concerned itself with two new and fundamental problems

in common law—the regulation of the rights and duties of belligerent powers in occupied territory and the definition of the category of regular soldiers who, in the event of capture, would have the status of prisoners of war and therefore benefit from particular treatment. Placed in this context, the rules concerning the protection of the wounded took on a new dimension and the provisions covering the treatment of prisoners of war would inevitably have an effect upon them.

For the first time, in the text of a convention, emphasis was to be placed upon the prisoner-of-war status of the sick or wounded soldier. The combatant who had been put out of action and had fallen into the hands of the adversary was defined as a prisoner of war and had to be treated as such. Wounded or sick, he would benefit from the Convention of 1864 and the articles added to it. This was the significance of Article 39 of the Russian proposal which stipulated that “the sick and wounded who fall into the hands of the enemy shall be regarded as prisoners of war...”

The resulting system of double protection for the captured combatant, as a prisoner of war and as a sick or wounded man, is still valid today, since both the Geneva Convention of 1949 for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field and the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War may be applied simultaneously and in a complementary manner.

The association thus established between the rules for the treatment of prisoners of war and those covering treatment of the wounded was certain, to have an immediate effect upon the principle of returning to their own country wounded men who were recognized as being disabled after the healing of their wounds. With regard to the liberation of prisoners of war either through exchange or on parole, the Russian draft placed its emphasis on the free choice of the parties to the conflict (Articles 34 and 35). In a similar manner, Article 43 envisaged returning wounded soldiers to their country only as a possibility left to the discretion of the belligerents, whereas the Convention of 1864 made it their duty to send back the wounded—at least those recognized after treatment as being unfit for service. Moynier made a vigorous protest:

“Article 43 contains a provision which is unacceptable since it is in contradiction with Article 6 of the Convention. Men who have been healed but who are incapable of returning to military service must be

liberated, and to say simply that they 'may' be liberated is to belittle this achievement of civilization—against which, incidentally, there has never been any protest."

Moynier was quite correct. Article 43 of the Russian draft did indeed modify profoundly Article 6 of the Convention, and in doing so weakened it considerably. Since 1864, however, attitudes had changed and the status of prisoner of war predominated over that of the wounded soldier. In Brussels, General de Voigts-Rhetz, representing Germany, was to argue that any provision concerning the return of the wounded to their countries should be optional. He was supported in this position by other delegates who insisted that the wounded must, above all else, be regarded as prisoners of war.

There were other articles in the Russian draft, concerning non-combatants and the wounded, which did not present such a threat to the Convention of 1864.

Article 38, which provided a more exact definition of the medical personnel to have the benefits of neutrality, tended to strengthen the protection accorded to such personnel. Moynier gave this his approval: "The innovation proposed in Article 38 is highly acceptable. This consists in granting neutrality to medical personnel not only when they are working, but as a matter of principle".

The Russian draft also offered innovations with regard to the armed defence of protected persons and property. The Convention of 1864 had not permitted the defence of ambulances and military hospitals. In its first article it stated that "such neutrality shall cease if the ambulances or hospitals should be held by a military force". Furthermore, no provision had been made for the individual defence of protected persons. The Russian proposal broke new ground. Making a distinction between participation in war operations and using arms for the defence of persons and property benefiting from neutrality, it forbade the former and authorized the latter. Protection by a guard detachment or by sentries would not deprive medical establishments of their neutrality (Article 40). As for protected persons "compelled to resort to arms for their self-defence..." (Article 41), they would continue to benefit from neutrality. These two progressive proposals, which were eventually to find their place in subsequent Conventions, were greeted in different ways by Moynier. While he approved Article 40 in principle, he was opposed to Article 41, commenting:

“My attitude is negative towards Article 41. Legitimate self-defence is always permissible, even to neutrals, but the proposed article might well serve as an incitement to make use of their arms and thus be a cover for abuses”.

Further, the Russian draft provided for the delivery to neutral persons of identity cards bearing the distinctive sign (Article 44), a proposal which Moynier found it easy to accept.

We should give due credit here to the authors of the Russian project. While it has often been said that its provisions tended to weaken considerably the Convention of 1864, the brief preceding analysis, as well as the comments of Gustave Moynier, demonstrate that, with the exception of Article 43 concerning the return of the wounded to their countries, the rules relating to non-combatants and the wounded—which were intended as additional rules to be added to the Convention and which therefore did not extend to all the questions dealt with in that Convention—tended to strengthen the protection accorded to neutral persons and property.

(to be continued)

Danièle BUJARD
Deputy Head of the ICRC Legal Division

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

CONFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT EXPERTS ON WEAPONS WHICH MAY CAUSE UNNECESSARY SUFFERING OR HAVE INDISCRIMINATE EFFECTS

The Conference of Government Experts on Weapons which may cause Unnecessary Suffering or have Indiscriminate Effects opened on Tuesday, 24 September, at Lucerne, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Conference, attended by more than 150 experts from some 50 countries, will continue until 18 October.

The study of the use of the weapons in question had already been the subject of a preliminary meeting in Geneva, in the context of work directed towards the further development of international humanitarian law.

The object of the Lucerne Conference of Government Experts is to prepare a report for governments defining those weapons which cause particular suffering, in order to restrict or forbid their use.

Dr. Eric Martin, President of the ICRC, opened the Conference with an address, the text of which is reproduced below. Welcoming speeches were made by representatives of the Lucerne authorities.

At each of the International Conferences of the Red Cross that were held recently, in particular at Vienna (in 1965), Istanbul (in 1969) and Teheran (in 1973), resolutions were adopted on the question of weapons, and the latest resolution included an invitation to the International Committee of the Red Cross to call an International Conference of Experts to study the question of prohibition or restriction of the use of certain weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering.

In 1973, two preliminary meetings were held at the ICRC in Geneva. The report on the work of the experts gathered at those meetings, entitled "Weapons that may cause Unnecessary Suffering or have Indiscriminate Effects", and issued by the ICRC, will constitute the main working document at this Conference.

The ground having thus been laid, the ICRC declared at the Diplomatic Conference on humanitarian law, in Geneva in March and April of this year, that it was prepared to convene a conference of international experts if financial support would be forthcoming from governments. Invitations to the Lucerne Conference were sent out on 17 May 1974.

As the Conference is being held under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, it is appropriate that its President should say a few words at this opening session.

It is for me a great privilege and an honour to welcome to Lucerne so many eminent experts from different countries and to say how much their presence and co-operation are esteemed.

I hope that this gathering of experts, who will have to deal with essentially technical matters, will discuss those problems in the spirit of the Red Cross, with the elimination of the unnecessary suffering caused to victims of conflicts as their sole concern. Political considerations therefore should be completely set aside. The ICRC is aware that some of us here regret that it did not think it ought to have invited, on its own initiative, experts nominated by governments or other bodies not admitted to the first session of the Diplomatic Conference on humanitarian law. The ICRC would like however to state very firmly that this Lucerne Conference is not empowered to re-examine such a question. Each government, when it agreed to nominate experts to sit at this Conference, agreed at the same time to respect the Conference rules of procedure, even though it may not have approved of some of those rules; each expert, of course, has the right to express disapproval or criticism, but the composition of this Conference shall not be debated here.

The Red Cross spirit, which was crystallized by Henry Dunant over a hundred years ago, has always been present in the world even in the most ancient civilizations. But it is a tiny flame, barely flickering in the hearts of men, and may well die if it is not constantly kindled.

The great thing that Henry Dunant did, after his harrowing experience at Solferino, was to find suitable soil in which the seed could sprout. Today, thanks to the efforts of the National Red Cross Societies and to the work of the ICRC throughout the world, we are beginning to harvest the fruit of that initial seed.

The task before this Conference is quite clear: it must draw up for governments a report listing those conventional weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects. It will be up to those governments to decide how they consider this report should be followed up and the measures they are willing to take with a view to prohibiting or restricting the use of such weapons. It is intentionally that the field of study, already quite large enough, has been restricted; it does not comprise nuclear weapons. Had we wished to study everything connected with the problem, we might well have delayed initial positive results. The ICRC appreciates the importance of that dark threat hanging over mankind, the ever possible use of weapons of mass destruction. But it is also conscious of the other problems that our generation must face, problems less dramatic, perhaps, but unhappily very real, caused by the use of certain weapons we call conventional. It should not be forgotten that all the dead and wounded in the conflicts that have occurred over the last thirty years were the victims of conventional weapons and not of weapons of mass destruction.

It would be indeed a source of great satisfaction, for the ICRC and for the world, if men of goodwill, and at the same time experts on weapons, would succeed in making war less cruel, without political considerations, by the fruit of their deliberations.

What a resounding success it would be for the Lucerne Conference and what an example for the world!

Various circumstances militated in favour of Lucerne as the venue for the Conference, and I take this opportunity to thank the authorities of this lovely town and those of Emmen for their kind welcome and hospitality.

Here, on the banks of the Lake of Lucerne, we are close to the place where the Swiss Confederation was born. It is not far from here, in a meadow, on the Grütli, that in 1291 the confederates of the three original cantons of this country took an oath to form an

alliance and to aid each other. It is in this way, all through the centuries, that Switzerland grew, a land of contrast and variety, seeking to act in mutual comprehension and tolerance. Its history has been marked by intestine wars and struggles until the moment when it chose to be neutral and to place its neutrality at the service of humanity. You will find here, in the calm of Lucerne, set in picturesque surroundings in the heart of Switzerland, ideal conditions for work. To renounce the use of certain weapons will of itself constitute a considerable advance on the path which I invite you resolutely to tread, under the auspices of the ICRC. But peace, which is the most cherished hope of all men and women, and especially of all Red Cross members, will only be made really secure the day when States agree to forgo not only the use of some specific weapons but also the manufacture, stockpiling and sale of all material of war.

Ever since it was founded, the International Committee of the Red Cross endeavoured to diminish the cruelty of wars which men have not been able to ban as a means of resolving their disputes. Today, it is no longer enough to proclaim that the right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is limited and that they have to abstain from using weapons which are unnecessarily cruel or which, by their very nature, are equally dangerous for civilians and combatants. Over and above those general principles, the international community demands that strict rules should be laid down setting forth unequivocally what weapons are covered by those principles. The task which this Conference has to carry out is of a highly delicate nature, for the security of States is at issue. May you accomplish your mission in a spirit of understanding and goodwill consistent with the high ideals of the Red Cross, under whose auspices the governments themselves have desired to discuss those questions ! May your work especially be carried out with the firm resolve to succeed !

That is the earnest wish which I, addressing you as President of the ICRC, would formulate now that you are about to embark upon your deliberations.

ICRC Action in Cyprus

General situation

ICRC action in Cyprus has developed considerably since the end of the second phase of hostilities, as new human problems have arisen.

At the end of September, the ICRC delegation consisted of 47 persons—including 14 delegates, 6 medical delegates and 8 Agency delegates. Their work had increased considerably, in providing protection and assistance to prisoners and to the civilian population.

The ICRC had supplied material assistance, in addition to that provided by the authorities, to more than 150,000 Greek Cypriot displaced persons, concentrated mainly in Larnaca and Limassol and in the Troodos Mountains.

With the support of four mobile medical teams, the delegates visited some 30,000 persons in the villages and districts which constitute the Turkish community in the Greek area, providing them with substantial quantities of food and medical supplies.

In the area under Turkish control, even though the ICRC was still waiting for the authorities to guarantee its delegates complete freedom of movement, the delegates visited nearly all the towns and villages of that region, including those on the Karpas Peninsula. They attempted to provide all possible assistance to the families remaining in those localities, especially by the organization of

convoys. With regard to the prisoners and detainees, the ICRC resumed its visits to places of detention in the Greek Cypriot area. Visits were also made to transit camps in the Turkish area. Lastly, the ICRC delegation in Turkey visited three camps for prisoners of war.

Family messages and search

Due to a considerable increase in the activities of the Central Tracing Agency, it was necessary to open additional Agency offices in different parts of Cyprus. Some indication of the task confronting the Agency was given in a report sent back from Cyprus by Miss Françoise Bory, an ICRC press officer. Her article is reproduced below:

We saw him from far away, running and waving his arms to attract our attention. Around him, on the yellow, sun-baked, dusty plain, sheep plucked at the rare clumps of grass. As he came up to our car, the shepherd cried out, "Forma! Forma!" What he wanted was a Red Cross message form, to write to a relative "on the other side of the line".

Everywhere in Cyprus, we found the same impatience, the same anxiety. Since the arrival of the delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross on 22 July, more than 120,000 messages have been sent with the help of the ICRC, between members of separated families, either in Cyprus itself or between those on the island and their relatives abroad.

For the ICRC delegates, the delivery of these family messages is no simple matter. The addressees must be located, and this quest has become a huge undertaking. The mass departure of populations from zones controlled by Turkish forces has emptied villages in the northern part of the island of most of their inhabitants. Only a few old people, who could not or would not leave, still lurk in their homes, often under miserable conditions. The Red Cross delegates find some of them every day, still in a state of shock from the battles in which they were trapped for the past few weeks.

In the southern part of Cyprus, the scattering of tens of thousands of displaced persons has also created countless problems in the gathering of information. To cope with these problems, the ICRC Central Tracing Agency has set up a number of local offices, which depend upon the efficient help of volunteers from the National Red Cross.

One of these offices was opened at Kyrenia, in the occupied zone, and others at Limassol and Larnaca. Mini-offices are also functioning

in many villages where displaced persons are concentrated. The situation changes rapidly, however, for these little centres are closed as soon as a new exodus of refugees gets under way.

The radio provides the means for locating the displaced persons, by daily broadcasts of the names of the addressees on the Red Cross family message forms. When such a person hears his name, he will report as soon as he can to the nearest Red Cross centre and provide his current address. This is then sent to the regional office, which in turn passes it on to headquarters in Nicosia—which will then proceed to deliver the message to the address indicated.

The Red Cross Tracing Agency in Cyprus and its dependent centres carry out in this way a very sizeable job in finding persons whose families have lost all trace of them—persons routinely designated as “missing”. What kind of people are these “missing persons”?

Some of them are soldiers who disappeared in the confusion of hostilities. Others are civilians who can no longer be found in their own home towns nor in collection centres for displaced persons. Still others are prisoners being held in various detention centres. The Agency is concerned with persons in all these categories. To assist in its task, it has several sources of information, the Government and the Red Cross or Red Crescent Societies, which hand on to the ICRC lists of persons who have been located.

In addition, Red Cross delegates visiting every place of detention draw up lists of prisoners or receive such lists from the detaining authorities.

All these names are posted in the Red Cross Tracing Agency offices and centres, where families can consult them. No fewer than 35,000 requests involving such “missing persons” have been addressed to the ICRC since the outbreak of hostilities in Cyprus. Positive results have been obtained with 15,000 of these requests.

The work of the Tracing Agency requires enormous patience from the specialists working with it, in gathering all the information required to find a lost friend or relative. This patience is amply rewarded however when it is finally possible to bring a message to the family which may hear no more than the simple words, “I am alive”.

Visits to prisoners

Up to the end of September, the ICRC delegates had carried out some 56 visits to prisoners and detainees in about thirty places of detention and in hospitals, in Turkey as well as in Cyprus itself.

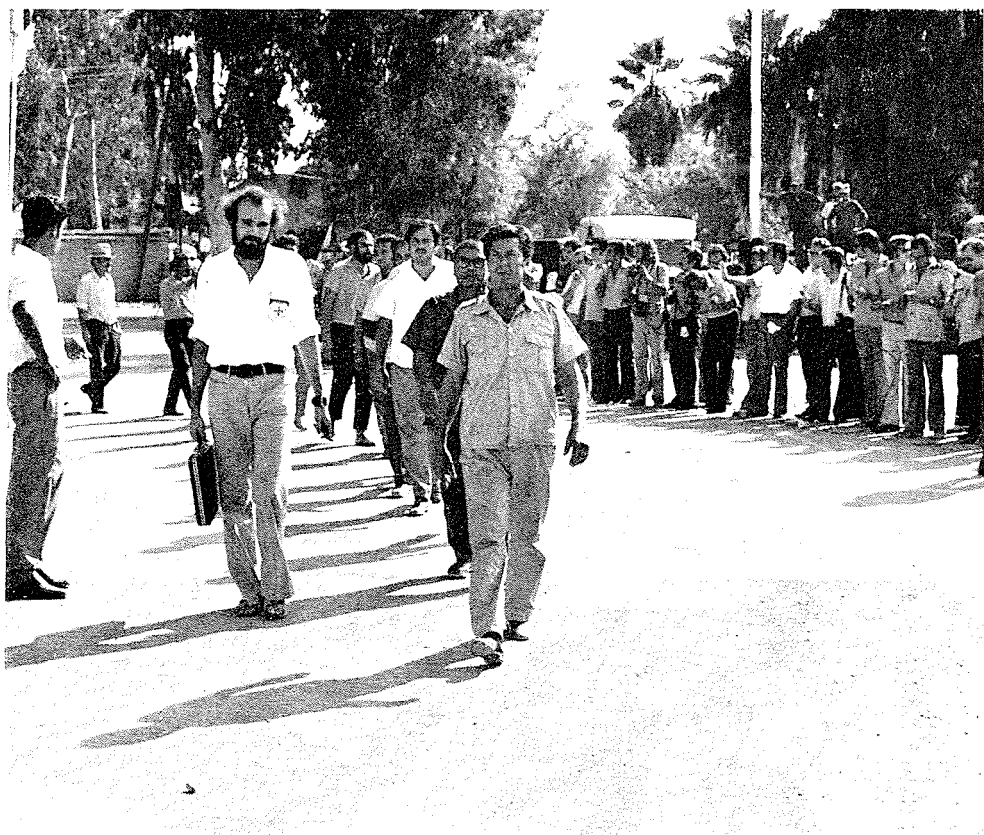
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE IN CYPRUS



ICRC delegates succour old people, abandoned in deserted villages.



ICRC delegates checking the identity of prisoners...



... and accompanying them to the place where they are to be released.



At one of the Central Tracing Agency offices, lists of names of prisoners and detainees visited by ICRC delegates are scanned by anxious relatives.

Four Photos Vaterlaus / ICRC

Release of prisoners

On 16 September, the ICRC published the following press release :

“Pursuant to the agreement concluded on Friday, 13 September between representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, an initial group of 243 wounded and sick prisoners, consisting of 127 Greek Cypriots and 116 Turkish Cypriots, were liberated today, 16 September, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross.”

Subsequently, other such operations took place in Cyprus, under ICRC auspices, enabling hundreds of persons to rejoin their families.

Medical activities

Since 24 August, two mobile medical teams, made available to the ICRC by the Danish and Finnish Red Cross Societies, each consisting of one doctor and two nurses, have been at work in Cyprus. Two other teams, from the same Societies, were subsequently provided. These teams have served to assist the six ICRC medical delegates. Their work has consisted in visiting both Turkish communities in the southern area and Greek Cypriot villages in the northern area, to provide medical care. The mobile teams, working in close co-operation with United Nations doctors, have treated a great number of individuals. They have also carried out evacuations of the wounded and sick and have distributed medicines.

Relief

As of 20 September, the ICRC in Cyprus had distributed 300 tons of food and medicines and 110,000 blankets, in addition to tents and miscellaneous relief supplies.

ICRC President in Bulgaria and the USSR

Bulgaria

Dr. Eric Martin, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, was in Bulgaria from 6 to 12 September 1974, as the guest of the Bulgarian Red Cross. He was accompanied by the ICRC delegate-general for Europe and North America, Mr. Melchior Borsinger.

Dr. Martin was greeted on his arrival on 6 September by Dr. Kiril Ignatov, President of the Bulgarian Red Cross, Mr. George Gospodinov, First Vice-President, Dr. Mincho Nikov, Vice-President, Professor Nikolov, a member of the Central Committee Executive Committee, and by Dr. Kancho Doskov, and Mr. Pouchkarov, Head and Deputy Head of the External Relations Department. He was later received in audience by Mr. Stanko Todorov, Premier of the Council of Ministers. The following day, after having been received in audience by Mr. Peter Mladenov, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Martin went to the headquarters of the Bulgarian Red Cross Central Committee.

The ICRC President exchanged views with members of the Government as well as with Red Cross leaders on topical ICRC problems and matters of concern to the ICRC and described the activities of the ICRC in various parts of the world, including Cyprus and Chile. The role of the Red Cross in case of conflicts and natural disasters and its work in the furtherance of peace were also mentioned.

On 9 September, Dr. Martin and Mr. Borsinger were present at the imposing ceremonies marking the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The ICRC President next went to Varna where he was welcomed by Dr. Madjarov, President of the District Committee, and Dr. Nikolaeva, President of the Bulgarian Red Cross Committee for the town of Varna, who informed him of the Society's various activities, including its work in the fields of social hygiene and sea rescue life-saving techniques. A life-saving demonstration was organized on the beach north of Varna. Dr. Martin visited, in addition, the Varna stomatologic polyclinic and the Palace of Sport and Culture where the international Red Cross films festivals are held.

At Plovdiv, which was the next on the list of places visited by Dr. Eric Martin, he was received by a number of Bulgarian Red Cross leaders and Dr. Raditchev, President of the District Committee, and his colleagues. Dr. Martin visited Red Cross installations, in particular the Red Cross polyclinic at Brestovitza.

USSR

The President of the International Committee of the Red Cross was in the USSR from 12 to 21 September, at the kind invitation of the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR. He was accompanied by Mr. Pierre Gaillard, deputy director, and Mr. Melchior Borsinger, delegate-general.

Dr. Martin was welcomed on his arrival by Dr. Nadejda Victorovna Troyan, President of the Alliance, Mr. B. I. Morgounov, Head of the External Relations Department, Mrs. L. I. Tcherkasskaya, Head of the International Relations Department, Mr. J. E. Polikarpov, Chief of Protocol, and Miss G. K. Ivanova, Assistant Executive Officer.

On 13 September, Dr. Eric Martin took part in meetings with leaders of the Alliance, at its headquarters. Among those present were Mr. F. G. Zaharov, First Vice-President, and Mr. J. P. Ostalskyi, Vice-President. The subjects of discussion included relations between the ICRC and the Alliance, present activities of the ICRC, particularly in Cyprus, Chile, the Middle East and

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

South-East Asia, and the development of the Red Cross movement, especially in the field of the furtherance of peace.

While in Moscow, the ICRC President was received in audience, on 20 September, by Mr. K. A. Khalilov, Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and by Mr. M. P. Georgadze, Secretary of the Presidium.

Dr. Martin took advantage of his stay in Moscow to visit the First Medical Institute and the Research Institute in gastro-enterology.

At Leningrad, where he stayed from 14 to 17 September, Dr. Martin was informed of Red Cross work in that city by Mr. V. M. Sokolov, President of the Leningrad Committee, and Mrs. Z. A. Afanassieva, its Vice-President.

After visiting Piskarevskoe Cemetery, where are buried the remains of more than 500,000 persons killed between 1941 and 1944 during the siege of Leningrad, the ICRC President made a tour of a number of Leningrad's cultural activities.

From 17 to 19 September, Dr. Martin was in Kiev, where he was welcomed by Dr. Valentina Zubko and Mr. I. L. Tyegniriadno, President and Vice-President of the Ukrainian Red Cross, respectively. After informing himself on Red Cross activities in Kiev and in the country districts, he visited, too, the Central Gerontology Institute of the Soviet Union.

The ICRC and the reuniting of dispersed families

At the Conference of Experts on the Reuniting of Dispersed Families, held in Florence last June, Mr. N. Vecsey, Deputy Director of the Central Tracing Agency, Geneva, submitted a statement on recent Red Cross action in that specific field. We give below an outline of his statement.

Large population movements (refugees, displaced persons, etc.) are to be seen wherever there is conflict or political strife. Frequent appeals for action are made to the ICRC and National Societies because so many families are separated, and requests come in from every quarter for the reuniting of families. It should, however, be borne in mind that actual reuniting, once exit or entry permits are obtained and travel arrangements made, is merely the final stage in a long and minute process carried out by the Central Tracing Agency (CTA) and National Societies. This traditional work of the Red Cross is essential.

For a family to be reunited its members must know the whereabouts of relatives. In principle, the CTA is responsible for making inquiries and conducting research, for keeping a record of refugees and for tracing the missing.

The task is one which can, and in principle should, be assigned to the tracing services of National Societies, but it has often come to our notice that National Societies, particularly in countries which have experienced unrest, lack facilities for an undertaking as

vast as the recording of hundreds of thousands of persons. That is when the CTA itself opens bureaux in those countries, sends out delegates and recruits local staff. It can provide the National Societies with technical advisers.

Let us consider some war situations which have given rise to population movements in past years.

With the unstable political situation which has prevailed in the Middle East for more than twenty-five years, there have been and still are hundreds of thousands of displaced persons. When some serious event takes place, it causes disquiet among families whose members are on either side, and many thousand inquiries and family messages reach the CTA in Geneva. There have been more than 10,000 repatriation operations, which have led to the reuniting of families, as a rule through the ICRC. An ICRC delegate escorts the families to the frontier, where another ICRC delegate will be waiting for them.

The Asian sub-continent, after the war between India and Pakistan, saw the largest ICRC action carried out since the Second World War. True to the ICRC's traditional duties, more than 90,000 prisoners of war and civilians were regularly visited by its delegates. The ICRC transmitted family mail (more than 16 million letters). ICRC delegates escorted prisoners of war repatriated on more than 100 trains. But what concerns us more particularly at the present moment is what happens to civilians and families separated because of a conflict, and the tracing operations necessary to ensure their reunion.

After the war, East Pakistan became an independent State: Bangladesh. Yet on account of the war hundreds of thousands of persons from one part of the country were held up in some other part of the country. They were there because of a job or military service, or for family reasons. They could no longer go home or correspond with their people. That was when the ICRC set up a message service that transmitted more than three million letters in both directions. Further, some 20,000 inquiries were opened with a view to tracing persons missing during or since the war, or during the unrest which shook East Pakistan from March to December 1971. The two governments also required the ICRC to

register applications from those who wished to be repatriated from Bangladesh to Pakistan or vice versa. The ICRC subsequently conveyed that information to the governments concerned, in order to secure exit permits and entry permits for the country of refuge. The ICRC informed applicants when a permit was obtained. Again, it was the ICRC which issued travel papers, assigned people to transit camps and made final arrangements for their departure, by means of an airlift organized and financed by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.¹

Then there is the case of Uganda. In the context of its family reuniting action and with effective UNHCR and ICEM co-operation, the ICRC helped Asians who were being expelled from that country. It issued some ten thousand travel documents and thereby enabled them to leave Uganda in November 1972. At the same time, a record was kept of departures, so that a great many inquiries could be answered. It was unavoidable that in their hurried departure families should become separated. In a number of cases, one member of the family held a British passport and was in the United Kingdom, while other members of the family were living in various provisional transit camps set up in Austria, Italy, Malta, Belgium or Spain.

In Africa, there are many refugees and dispersed families who are in need of aid, especially in Tanzania, which has seen an influx of thousands of refugees, on the one hand from Burundi, Rwanda and Zambia, and on the other, from Mozambique. Aware as it is of the importance of "registering" a population which is on the move, Tanzania has asked the ICRC to send out an expert to set up a tracing service in the National Red Cross Society.

But what should the criterion be, in family reuniting operations, as to the degree of relationship? The criterion varies from one continent to another. In Europe, for instance, the reuniting process tends in the direction of the head of the family. The wife, children under age and close relatives are regarded as members of the family. In the East, the situation is different. Let us take the case of the reuniting of families between Pakistan and Bangladesh,

¹ See *International Review*, April 1974.

where the criterion accepted by the governments concerned includes the wife or husband, all children (even adult children), dependent relatives, unmarried or widowed sisters, brothers under age, grandparents and grandchildren, plus the families of married children should the rest of the family be living in the country of refuge.

The conclusion, therefore, is that the majority of the countries confronted with the problem of displaced persons are convinced that humanitarian action in this field can be appropriately undertaken by the Red Cross.

IN THE RED CROSS WORLD

LEAGUE ANNUAL REPORT

The Annual Report for 1973 of the League of Red Cross Societies opens with tributes paid to the late Nedim Abut and Pierre Boissier, two eminent men whose sudden death deprived the Red Cross movement of two of its most devoted members and who will be long remembered in the Red Cross world.

The Report contains information relating to the following activities : Teheran meetings—General matters—International relations—Relief—Disaster relief preparedness—Development programme—Training—Health—Blood programme—Social welfare—Nursing—Youth—Information—Administration and financial situation.

Some of the achievements of the institution are indicated by its Secretary General, Mr. H. Beer, in the introduction.

... It also gave the Red Cross great tasks to fulfil after natural disasters, some of them with consequences for years ahead. Even if the Red Cross concentrates on short-term emergency actions, there is a necessity for joint planning with UN and other agencies. Drought relief actions in the Sahelian countries and Ethiopia are good examples.

1973 was the first year we could see practical results of earlier decisions to decentralize the major training efforts of the development programme, and to apply environmental aspects to this basic activity...

POSTAL RELATIONS TO BE MAINTAINED IN THE EVENT OF DISPUTE, CONFLICT OR WAR

At its Seventeenth Congress in Lausanne from 22 May to 5 July 1974, the Universal Postal Union resumed its consideration of a problem to which it had already devoted attention at a previous meeting, namely postal communications in time of dispute, conflict or war. It passed, on that subject, a resolution which we quote below, together with extracts from a memorandum from the reporting country, because of its direct interest to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

I. Introduction

1. By resolution C 5, the Tokyo Congress instructed the Executive Council to study legal and technical means of enabling postal relations—especially the exchange of letters and postcards—to be widely maintained even in the event of dispute, conflict or war, and if appropriate to draw up adequate recommendations.

2. The Executive Council decided to begin the study assigned to it by compiling documentation on past measures taken in the postal and other fields to maintain international relations in the event of war, conflict or dispute ; the study in question was entrusted to Austria (CE 1970-Doc. 8).

3. To enable Congress to obtain a clear all-round picture of the problem concerned, the Executive Council asked Austria to prepare for submission to Congress a report containing, in the form of extracts, a comprehensive survey of the abundant documentation collected by the reporting country (CE 1974-Doc. 8).

II. Available documentation

4. The Austrian administration began by approaching the International Committee of the Red Cross and a number of postal administrations. It subsequently submitted to the Executive Council a compendium of the information obtained.¹

5. Reference should also be made to resolution 9 of the Diplomatic Conference (Geneva, 1949) asking the International Committee of the Red Cross to work out a system for the grouping of messages or of series of short messages aimed at informing prisoners or their families about each other's state of health and about schooling and financial matters, at the same time endeavouring to secure a reduction in the cost of telegraphic transmission of messages sent or received by prisoners of war.

At the 21st International Conference of the Red Cross (Istanbul, September 1969), the ICRC submitted a "draft system of standard telegraphic messages for the correspondence of prisoners of war" which also contained a proposal for a code to be used for the transmission of messages of this kind. On that occasion a nearly unanimous desire was expressed to see this system extended to civilians as well as prisoners of war. (A final decision has not yet been taken on the draft system in question.)

III. Importance of maintaining postal relations

6. The available documentation shows clearly that it is precisely in the event of war, conflict or dispute that the need to maintain postal relations to the greatest possible extent is most urgently felt. Account has to be taken not only of the doubtless well-founded interests of the belligerent powers, but also of those—often no less important—of the neutral countries. In its report, the Swiss administration notes that during the Second World War the suspension of postal relations and the delays caused to

¹ Report by the International Committee of the Red Cross; Report by Portugal; Report by Great Britain;

extracts from documentation made available by Switzerland and covering the period August 1939 — November 1945;

extracts from reports concerning the exchange of correspondence in areas affected in recent years by wars or crises.

postal communications by the sometimes arbitrary measures taken by the belligerent countries did great damage to the Swiss economy and to that of other countries which remained outside the conflict.

7. The prime objective, however, is to safeguard the interests of:

- a) prisoners of war;
- b) civilian internees;
- c) civilians separated from their families by hostilities.

Exchanges of messages between the above-mentioned groups, and hence between the territories of the belligerents, must be ensured through intermediary services (provided either by a neutral country or by an international organization). In recent times, transmission of messages during armed conflicts has been carried out both by the postal services and by agencies set up by the International Committee of the Red Cross or by other humanitarian organizations, the leading role being played in some cases by the Post and in others by the Red Cross.

IV. International Agreements

8. With a view to guaranteeing the exchange of correspondence between the above-mentioned groups, a number of International Agreements contain, *inter alia*, the following provisions:

a) *Correspondence of prisoners of war:*

Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, 12 August 1949:

Section V "Relations of prisoners of war with the exterior", articles 69-77;

Annex IV B "Capture card" (postcard to be sent to the Central Prisoners of War Agency; size: 10.5×15 cm);

Annex IV C "Correspondence card and letter"—Correspondence of prisoners of war (size of card: 10×15 cm; size of folded letter: 15×29 cm; the reverse side is for prisoners to write their message on and may contain about 250 words).

Universal Postal Convention (Tokyo 1969), articles 14 and 50 ;
Postal Parcels Agreement (Tokyo 1969), articles 17 and 56.

b) Correspondence of civilian internees:

Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian
Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949 :

Chapter VIII "Relations with the exterior", articles 105
to 116 ;

Annex III "Internment card" (postcard to be sent to the
Central Information Agency for Protected Persons ; size :
10×15 cm) ;

"Civilian internee letter" (size of folded letter :
10×15 cm) ;

"Civilian internee correspondence card" (size :
10×15 cm).

Universal Postal Convention (Tokyo 1969), articles 14 and 50 ;
Postal Parcels Agreement (Tokyo 1969), articles 17 and 56.

c) Family messages

Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian
Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949 :

Article 25.

This article reads as follows :

"All persons in the territory of a party to the conflict, or in a
territory occupied by it, shall be enabled to give news of a strictly
personal nature to members of their families, wherever they may
be, and to receive news from them. This correspondence shall be
forwarded speedily and without undue delay.

"If, as a result of circumstances, it becomes difficult or impossible
to exchange family correspondence by the ordinary post, the parties
to the conflict concerned shall apply to a neutral intermediary,
such as the Central Agency provided for in article 140, and shall
decide in consultation with it how to ensure the fulfilment of their
obligations under the best possible conditions, in particular with
the cooperation of the national Red Cross (Red Crescent, Red Lion
and Sun) Societies.

“If the Parties to the conflict deem it necessary to restrict family correspondence, such restrictions shall be confined to the compulsory use of standard forms containing 25 freely chosen words, and to the limitation of the number of these forms despatched to one each month.”

As the model of the above-mentioned form (“form 61”) does not appear in the Geneva Conventions, it is reproduced in annex 2 to this document. For the historical background to the family message (“civilian message”), see annex 1, chapter I, B.

V. Cooperation between postal administrations, the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations

9. The exchange of correspondence of prisoners of war and civilian internees thus comes primarily within the scope of postal administrations, without forgetting the important and effective role played by the Red Cross agencies. (Report of the ICRC on its activities during the Second World War, volume II, page 63: “By the end of 1946, the Agency had thus received and forwarded nearly 20 million letters and cards. This figure, which in itself represents quite a considerable volume, was only a small proportion of the total mail handled for prisoners of war and civilian internees.”)

10. One noteworthy idea advocated in the documentation compiled by the Swiss postal administration is that of using the services of prisoners of war who previously worked as postal employees to sort POW correspondence in the country where they are being held.

11. Article 25 of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War provides primarily for the exchange of family messages through normal postal channels. In addition, however, the Convention aims at guaranteeing this exchange of family messages even where circumstances are such as to make the use of postal channels difficult and even impossible, without however preventing postal administrations from playing a substantial role in such exchanges, despite those circumstances.

As will be seen from the report contained in annex 2, the exchange of family messages is most frequently ensured through the cooperation of the services and agencies of the Red Cross (Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun, etc.) on the one hand and the postal services on the other, the latter undertaking where necessary to accept form 61 at post office counters, to accept family messages, to ensure their transmission to and from the ICRC delegations and to forward them to their destination.

VI. Conclusions

12. In view of the capital importance of postal relations in the event of war, conflict or dispute, every effort should be made to maintain these relations to the greatest possible extent. The suspension of postal relations, far from affecting only the population of the countries concerned, also has repercussions on countries which are not parties to the conflict. The maintenance of postal relations to the greatest possible extent is thus a major concern of the Universal Postal Union.

13. The Executive Council has therefore prepared a draft resolution for Congress aimed at giving the Director-General of the International Bureau special powers to enable him to use his authority, prestige and influence to maintain postal relations in the event of dispute, conflict or war.

Resolution No. 0011

Legal and technical possibilities of maintaining postal relations in cases of disputes, conflict or war

Congress,

Considering the peaceful and humanitarian role played by the Universal Postal Union in helping to bring peoples and individuals together,

Convinced of the need to maintain postal exchanges, as far as possible, with or between regions afflicted by disputes, disturbances, conflicts or wars,

MISCELLANEOUS

In view of the initiatives taken and the experience of certain Governments or humanitarian organizations in this field,

Appeals urgently to the Governments of member countries, as far as possible and unless the United Nations General Assembly or Security Council has decided otherwise (in accordance with article 41 of the United Nations Charter), not to interrupt or hinder postal traffic—especially the exchange of correspondence containing messages of a personal nature in the event of dispute, conflict or war, the efforts made in this direction being applicable even to the countries directly concerned, and

Authorizes the Director-General of the International Bureau of the UPU :

1. to take what initiatives he considers advisable to facilitate, while respecting national sovereignties, the maintenance or re-establishment of postal exchanges with or between the parties to a dispute, conflict or war ;
 2. to offer his “good offices” to find a solution to postal problems which may arise in the event of a dispute, conflict or war.
-

REUNITING OF DISPERSED FAMILIES

In co-operation with the Italian Red Cross, the International Institute of Humanitarian Law called a *Conference of Experts on the Reuniting of Dispersed Families*, in Florence from 13 to 16 June 1974. The aim was to consider—in the context of the reaffirmation and development of international humanitarian law and particularly in view of the second session of the Diplomatic Conference scheduled to meet in Geneva next year—to what extent the action taken so far in reuniting dispersed families had already established custom in humanitarian law, and to contribute, if possible, to drawing up provisions additional to existing international instruments.

Leading figures from fifteen countries as well as representatives of various international institutions, including the ICRC, the League and the Henry Dunant Institute, took part in the discussions. Papers and reports were submitted by a number of them, and Professor F. de la Pradelle made a statement on "State Sovereignty and Humanitarian Actions".

Two committees were set up, one dealing with the problem of migration, particularly of workers, and the second with questions relating to armed conflicts. We should like to draw attention to the proceedings of the latter. It was presided over by Mr. H. G. Beckh, President of AWR (Association for the Study of the World Refugee Problem) and a former ICRC delegate, and comprised some thirty experts who were members of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies or of various other organizations. In the discussion which followed the reports (including those of Mrs. E. Tekusch of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the difficulties of refugees separated from their families by events, and Mr. H. G. Beckh, who stressed the important part played by the ICRC in

reuniting families in Europe after the Second World War), reference was made to favourable world reaction to humanitarian activities on behalf of dispersed families. Custom would therefore seem to have been established by action of this kind, that of the ICRC for example. It should nevertheless not be confined to the duration of a conflict, but extend beyond.

The Conference adopted a number of resolutions, and we reproduce below one which mentions the ICRC and its work in reuniting families :

Resolution II

The Conference on the "Reuniting of Dispersed Families" held in Florence by the International Institute of Humanitarian Law in cooperation with the Italian Red Cross, June 13-16, 1974,

Basing its deliberations on the broad considerations contained in the Resolution of the Round Table of the Institute on the same topic held in Sanremo, June 28-30, 1973, as to the basic principles, texts, and practices of humanitarian law resulting from international conventions, conferences, and activities of persons and organizations concerned with the reuniting of dispersed families,

Mindful particularly of the experiences of the International Committee of the Red Cross and of other international organizations active in this field, which have been reported in part to the Conference,

Considering the texts of Article 26 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and of Articles 32 and 69 of the Draft Additional Protocols submitted to the Diplomatic Conference in Geneva in 1974,

Recognizing that the problem of dispersed families continues to be of paramount humanitarian concern to the international community,

1. RESOLVES that the following text be recommended for adoption:

(a) The High Contracting Parties recognize that the reunion of dispersed families constitutes a grave problem that should be solved through concerted humanitarian efforts;

(b) Parties to the conflict shall take all measures at their disposal with a view to keeping the family unit intact in the course of hostilities;

(c) High Contracting Parties, whether or not parties to the conflict, shall facilitate the reunion of families dispersed before, during or after hostilities, due regard being given to the expressed desire of individual members of the family as to the reunion and its place;

(d) In case of disagreement between High Contracting Parties as to the implementation of these paragraphs, the good offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross or any other impartial humanitarian organization should be solicited and utilized;

2. COMMENDS *the text to the attention of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as other international humanitarian organizations and National Red Cross Societies;*

3. REQUESTS *the International Committee of the Red Cross to circulate the text to all Contracting Parties to the 1949 Geneva Conventions;*

4. PROPOSES *that the text be inserted in both Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 in the appropriate context.*

EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

ADOPTED 21 JUNE 1973

ART. 1. — *International Committee of the Red Cross*

1. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), founded in Geneva in 1863 and formally recognized in the Geneva Conventions and by International Conferences of the Red Cross, shall be an independent organization having its own Statutes.

2. It shall be a constituent part of the International Red Cross.¹

ART. 2. — *Legal Status*

As an association governed by Articles 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code, the ICRC shall have legal personality.

ART. 3. — *Headquarters and Emblem*

The headquarters of the ICRC shall be in Geneva.

Its emblem shall be a red cross on a white ground. Its motto shall be *Inter arma caritas*.

ART. 4. — *Role*

1. The special role of the ICRC shall be :
- (a) to maintain the fundamental principles of the Red Cross as proclaimed by the XXth International Conference of the Red Cross ;
 - (b) to recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Red Cross Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition in force, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition ;
 - (c) to undertake the tasks incumbent on it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of these Conventions and to take cognizance of any complaints regarding alleged breaches of the humanitarian Conventions ;

¹ The International Red Cross comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies. The term "National Red Cross Societies" includes the Red Crescent Societies and the Red Lion and Sun Society.

- (d) to take action in its capacity as a neutral institution, especially in case of war, civil war or internal strife ; to endeavour to ensure at all times that the military and civilian victims of such conflicts and of their direct results receive protection and assistance, and to serve, in humanitarian matters, as an intermediary between the parties ;
- (e) to ensure the operation of the Central Information Agencies provided for in the Geneva Conventions ;
- (f) to contribute, in view of such conflicts, to the preparation and development of medical personnel and medical equipment, in co-operation with the Red Cross organizations, the medical services of the armed forces, and other competent authorities ;
- (g) to work for the continual improvement of humanitarian international law and for the better understanding and diffusion of the Geneva Conventions and to prepare for their possible extension ;
- (h) to accept the mandates entrusted to it by the International Conferences of the Red Cross.

2. The ICRC may also take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its role as a specifically neutral and independent institution and consider any question requiring examination by such an institution.

ART. 6 (first paragraph). — *Membership of the ICRC*

The ICRC shall co-opt its members from among Swiss citizens. It shall comprise fifteen to twenty-five members.

THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF AUGUST 12, 1949¹

Some Publications

	Sw. Fr.
The Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949. 2nd Ed. 1950. 245 pp.	10.—
Commentary published under the general editorship of Mr. J. Pictet, member of ICRC:	
— Vol. 1: Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field — 466 pp.	
bound	45.—
paper-back	35.—
— Vol. 2: Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea — 320 pp.	
bound	40.—
paper-back	30.—
— Vol. 3: Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War — 764 pp.	
bound	60.—
paper-back	50.—
Vol. 4: Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War — 660 pp.	
bound	55.—
paper-back	45.—
Summary for Members of Armed Forces and the General Public, 13 pp.	2.—
Course of Five Lessons, 102 pp.	8.—
Essential Provisions, 4 pp.	0.30
Soldier's Manual, 24 pp.	1.—
Rights and Duties of Nurses under the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949 — 45 pp. (for orders exceeding 100 copies, Sw.Fr. 1.— per copy)	2.—

*

International Red Cross Handbook². Conventions—Statutes and Regulations—Resolutions of the International Confer- ence of the Red Cross and of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies, 11th ed. 1971 ; 8vo, 607 pp. .	40.—
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¹ These publications and the full list of ICRC publications may be obtained from the ICRC Documentation Department, 17 avenue de la Paix, CH-1211 Geneva.

² This joint publication can be obtained at the above address or from the League of Red Cross Societies, Case postale 2099, CH-1211 Geneva 19.

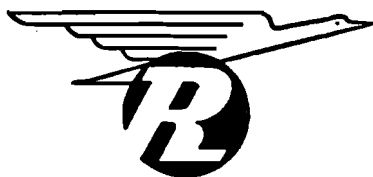


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ADDRESSES OF NATIONAL SOCIETIES

- AFGHANISTAN — Afghan Red Crescent, Puli Artan, *Kabul*.
- ALBANIA — Albanian Red Cross, 35, Rruga e Barrikadavet, *Tirana*.
- ALGERIA — Algerian Red Crescent Society, 15 bis, Boulevard Mohamed V, *Algiers*.
- ARGENTINA — Argentine Red Cross, H. Yrigoyen 2068, *Buenos Aires*.
- AUSTRALIA — Australian Red Cross, 122-128 Flinders Street, *Melbourne 3000*.
- AUSTRIA — Austrian Red Cross, 3 Gusshausstrasse, Postfach 39, *Vienna 4*.
- BAHRAIN — Bahrain Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 882, *Manama*.
- BANGLADESH — Bangladesh Red Cross Society, Amin Court Building, Motijheel Commercial Area, *Dacca 2*.
- BELGIUM — Belgian Red Cross, 98 Chaussée de Vleurgat, *1050 Brussels*.
- BOLIVIA — Bolivian Red Cross, Avenida Simón Bolívar, 1515, *La Paz*.
- BOTSWANA — Botswana Red Cross Society, Independence Avenue, P.O. Box 485, *Gaborone*.
- BRAZIL — Brazilian Red Cross, Praça Cruz Vermelha 10-12, *Rio de Janeiro*.
- BULGARIA — Bulgarian Red Cross, 1, Boul. Biruzov, *Sofia 27*.
- BURMA (Socialist Republic of the Union of) — Burma Red Cross, 42 Strand Road, Red Cross Building, *Rangoon*.
- BURUNDI — Red Cross Society of Burundi, rue du Marché 3, P.O. Box 324 *Bujumbura*.
- CAMEROON — Cameroon Red Cross Society, rue Henry-Dunant, P.O.B. 631, *Yaoundé*.
- CANADA — Canadian Red Cross, 95 Wellesley Street East, *Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 1H6*.
- CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC — Central African Red Cross, B.P. 1428, *Bangui*.
- CHILE — Chilean Red Cross, Avenida Santa María 0150, Correo 21, Casilla 246V., *Santiago de Chile*.
- CHINA — Red Cross Society of China, 22 Kanmien Hutung, *Peking, E*.
- COLOMBIA — Colombian Red Cross, Carrera 7a, 34-65, Apartado nacional 1110, *Bogotá D.E.*
- COSTA RICA — Costa Rican Red Cross, Calle 5a, Apartado 1025, *San José*.
- CUBA — Cuban Red Cross, Calle 23 201 esq. N. Vedado, *Havana*.
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA — Czechoslovak Red Cross, Thunovska 18, *Prague 1*.
- DAHOMY — Dahomean Red Cross P.O. Box 1, *Porto Novo*.
- DENMARK — Danish Red Cross, Ny Vestergade 17, DK-1471 *Copenhagen K*.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC — Dominican Red Cross, Apartado Postal 1293, *Santo Domingo*.
- ECUADOR — Ecuadorian Red Cross, Calle de la Cruz Roja y Avenida Colombia, 118, *Quito*.
- EGYPT (Arab Republic of) — Egyptian Red Crescent Society, 34 rue Ramses, *Cairo*.
- EL SALVADOR — El Salvador Red Cross, 3a Avenida Norte y 3a Calle Poniente 21, *San Salvador*.
- ETHIOPIA — Ethiopian Red Cross, Red Cross Road No. 1, P.O. Box 195, *Addis Ababa*.
- FIJI — Fiji Red Cross Society, 193 Rodwell Road, P.O. Box 569, *Suva*.
- FINLAND — Finnish Red Cross, Tehtaankatu 1 A, Box 168, *00141 Helsinki 14*.
- FRANCE — French Red Cross, 17, rue Quentin Bauchart, F-75384 *Paris*, CEDEX 08.
- GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC — German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic, Kaitzerstrasse 2, DDR 801 *Dresden 1*.
- GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF — German Red Cross in the Federal Republic of Germany, Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 71, 5300, *Bonn 1*, Postfach (D.B.R.).
- GHANA — Ghana Red Cross, National Headquarters, Ministries Annex A3, P.O. Box 835, *Accra*.
- GREECE — Hellenic Red Cross, rue Lycavittou 1, *Athens 135*.
- GUATEMALA — Guatemalan Red Cross, 3ª Calle 8-40, Zona 1, *Ciudad de Guatemala*.
- GUYANA — Guyana Red Cross, P.O. Box 351, Eve Leary, *Georgetown*.
- HAITI — Haiti Red Cross, Place des Nations Unies, B.P. 1337, *Port-au-Prince*.
- HONDURAS — Honduran Red Cross, 1ª Avenida entre 3a y 4a Calles, N° 313, *Comayagüela, D.C.*
- HUNGARY — Hungarian Red Cross, V. Arany János utca 31, *Budapest V*. Mail Add.: 1367 *Budapest 5*, Pf. 249.
- ICELAND — Icelandic Red Cross, Øldugøtu 4, Post Box 872, *Reykjavik*.
- INDIA — Indian Red Cross, 1 Red Cross Road, *New Delhi 110001*.
- INDONESIA — Indonesian Red Cross, Djalan Abdul Muis 66, P.O. Box 2009, *Djakarta*.
- IRAN — Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Av. Villa, Carrefour Takhté Djamchid, *Teheran*.
- IRAQ — Iraqi Red Crescent, Al-Mansour, *Baghdad*.
- IRELAND — Irish Red Cross, 16 Merrion Square, *Dublin 2*.
- ITALY — Italian Red Cross, 12 via Toscana, *Rome*.
- IVORY COAST — Ivory Coast Red Cross Society, B.P. 1244, *Abidjan*.
- JAMAICA — Jamaica Red Cross Society, 76 Arnold Road, *Kingston 5*.
- JAPAN — Japanese Red Cross, 1-1-5 Shiba Daimon, Minato-Ku, *Tokyo 105*.
- JORDAN — Jordan National Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 10 001, *Amman*.
- KENYA — Kenya Red Cross Society, St. John's Gate, P.O. Box 40712, *Nairobi*.
- KHMER REPUBLIC — Khmer Red Cross, 17 Vithei Croix-Rouge khmère, P.O.B. 94, *Phnom-Penh*.
- KOREA, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF — Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Pyongyang*.
- KOREA, REPUBLIC OF — The Republic of Korea National Red Cross, 32-3Ka Nam San-Dong, *Seoul*.
- KUWAIT — Kuwait Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 1359, *Kuwait*.
- LAOS — Lao Red Cross, P.B. 650, *Vientiane*.
- LEBANON — Lebanese Red Cross, rue Général Spears, *Beirut*.
- LESOTHO — Lesotho Red Cross Society, P.O. Box 366, *Maseru*.

- LIBERIA** — Liberian National Red Cross, National Headquarters, 107 Lynch Street, P.O. Box 226, *Monrovia*.
- LIBYAN ARAB REPUBLIC** — Libyan Red Crescent, P.O. Box 541, *Benghazi*.
- LIECHTENSTEIN** — Liechtenstein Red Cross, *Vaduz*.
- LUXEMBOURG** — Luxembourg Red Cross, Parc de la Ville, C.P. 1806, *Luxembourg*.
- MALAGASY REPUBLIC** — Red Cross Society of the Malagasy Republic, rue Clémenceau, P.O. Box 1168, *Tananarive*.
- MALAWI** — Malawi Red Cross, Hall Road, *Blantyre* (P.O. Box 30080, Chichiri, *Blantyre* 3).
- MALAYSIA** — Malaysian Red Cross Society, 519 Jalan Belfield, *Kuala Lumpur*.
- MALI** — Mali Red Cross, B.P. 280, route de Koulikora, *Bamako*.
- MAURITANIA** — Mauritanian Red Crescent Society, B.P. 344, Avenue Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Nouakchott*.
- MEXICO** — Mexican Red Cross, Avenida Ejército Nacional n° 1032, *México 10 D.F.*
- MONACO** — Red Cross of Monaco, 27 boul. de Suisse, *Monte Carlo*.
- MONGOLIA** — Red Cross Society of the Mongolian People's Republic, Central Post Office, Post Box 537, *Ulan Bator*.
- MOROCCO** — Moroccan Red Crescent, B.P. 189, Takaddoum, *Rabat*.
- NEPAL** — Nepal Red Cross Society, Tahachal, P.B. 217, *Kathmandu*.
- NETHERLANDS** — Netherlands Red Cross, 27 Prinsesgracht, *The Hague*.
- NEW ZEALAND** — New Zealand Red Cross, Red Cross House, 14 Hill Street, *Wellington 1*. (P.O. Box 12-140, *Wellington North*).
- NICARAGUA** — Nicaraguan Red Cross, *Managua, D.N.*
- NIGER** — Red Cross Society of Niger, B.P. 386, *Niamey*.
- NIGERIA** — Nigerian Red Cross Society, Eko Aketa Close, off St. Gregory Rd., P.O. Box 764, *Lagos*.
- NORWAY** — Norwegian Red Cross, Parkveien 33b, *Oslo*. Mail Add.: *Postboks 7034 H-Oslo 3*.
- PAKISTAN** — Pakistan Red Crescent Society, Dr Daudpota Road, *Karachi 4*.
- PANAMA** — Panamanian Red Cross, Apartado Postal 668, Zona 1, *Panamá*.
- PARAGUAY** — Paraguayan Red Cross, Brasil 216, *Asunción*.
- PERU** — Peruvian Red Cross, Jirón Chancay 881, *Lima*.
- PHILIPPINES** — Philippine National Red Cross, 860 United Nations Avenue, P.O.B. 280, *Manila D-406*.
- POLAND** — Polish Red Cross, Mokotowska 14, *Warsaw*.
- PORTUGAL** — Portuguese Red Cross, Jardim 9 de Abril, 1 a 5, *Lisbon 3*.
- ROMANIA** — Red Cross of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Strada Biserica Amzei 29, *Bucarest*.
- SAN MARINO** — San Marino Red Cross, Palais gouvernemental, *San Marino*.
- SAUDI ARABIA** — Saudi Arabian Red Crescent, *Riyadh*.
- SENEGAL** — Senegalese Red Cross Society, Bld. Franklin-Roosevelt, P.O.B. 299, *Dakar*.
- SIERRA LEONE** — Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 6A, Liverpool Street, P.O.B. 427, *Freetown*.
- SINGAPORE** — Singapore Red Cross Society, 15, Penang Lane, *Singapore 9*.
- SOMALI REPUBLIC** — Somali Red Crescent Society, P.O. Box 937, *Mogadishu*.
- SOUTH AFRICA** — South African Red Cross, Cor. Kruis & Market Streets, P.O.B. 8726, *Johannesburg*.
- SPAIN** — Spanish Red Cross, Eduardo Dato 16, *Madrid 10*.
- SRI LANKA** — Sri Lanka Red Cross Society, 106 Dharmapala Mawatha, *Colombo 7*.
- SUDAN** — Sudanese Red Crescent, P.O. Box 235, *Khartoum*.
- SWEDEN** — Swedish Red Cross, Fack, 104 40 *Stockholm 14*.
- SWITZERLAND** — Swiss Red Cross, Taubenstrasse 8, B.P. 2699, *3001 Berne*.
- SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC** — Syrian Red Crescent, 13, Abi Ala, Almaari Street, *Damascus*.
- TANZANIA** — Tanzania Red Cross Society, Upanga Road, P.O.B. 1133, *Dar es Salaam*.
- THAILAND** — Thai Red Cross Society, Paribatra Building, Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, *Bangkok*.
- TOGO** — Togolese Red Cross Society, 51, rue Boko Soga, P.O. Box 655, *Lomé*.
- TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO** — Trinidad and Tobago Red Cross Society, Wrightson Road West, P.O. Box 357, *Port of Spain*, Trinidad, West Indies.
- TUNISIA** — Tunisian Red Crescent, 19 rue d'Angleterre, *Tunis*.
- TURKEY** — Turkish Red Crescent, Yenisehir, *Ankara*.
- UGANDA** — Uganda Red Cross, Nabunya Road, P.O. Box 494, *Kampala*.
- UNITED KINGDOM** — British Red Cross, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, *London, SW1X 7EJ*.
- UPPER VOLTA** — Upper Volta Red Cross, P.O.B. 340, *Ouagadougou*.
- URUGUAY** — Uruguayan Red Cross, Avenida 8 de Octubre 2990, *Montevideo*.
- U.S.A.** — American National Red Cross, 17th and D Streets, N.W., *Washington, D.C. 20006*.
- U.S.S.R.** — Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Tcheremushki, I. Tcheremushkinskii proezd 5, *Moscow B-36*.
- VENEZUELA** — Venezuelan Red Cross, Avenida Andrés Bello No. 4, Apart. 3185, *Caracas*.
- VIET NAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF** — Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, 68 rue Bà-Triệu, *Hanoi*.
- VIET NAM, REPUBLIC OF** — Red Cross of the Republic of Viet Nam, 201 đường Hồng-Thập-Tu, No. 201, *Saigon*.
- YUGOSLAVIA** — Red Cross of Yugoslavia, Simina ulica broj 19, *Belgrade*.
- ZAIRE (Republic of)** — Red Cross of the Republic of Zaire, 41 av. de la Justice, B.P. 1712, *Kinshasa*.
- ZAMBIA** — Zambia Red Cross, P.O. Box R.W.1, 2838 Brentwood Drive, *Lusaka*.